

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 18501

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: ELAB, JA, PINT
SUBJECT: LABOR AND THE LOWER HOUSE ELECTION

SUMMARY: LABOR UNION REACTIONS TO RESULTS OF DEC. 5 ELECTION
VARY SHARPLY. DOMEI LEADERS HAIL DSP GAINS AS POPULAR MANDATE
FOR CENTRIST POLITICS AND ASSERT DOMEI SHOULD HENCEFORTH BE
PRINCIPAL SPOKESMEN FOR ORGANIZED LABOR VIS-A-VIS GOJ AND
IN ONGOING LABOR UNITY EFFORTS. STRESSING DSP'S OPPOSITION
COLORATION, DOMEI CATEGORICALLY DENIES DSP WOULD ACCEPT ANY
LDP OFFER TO FORM COALITION GOVEROENT. SOHE GLUMLY
ADMITS THATN EVEN THOUGH SOCIALISTS PICKED UP A FEW
SEATS, THEY SUFFERED SETBACK AS RESULT OF DECLINE IN SHARE
OF POPULAR VOTE AND INABILITY TO BENEFIT SIGNIFICANTLY FROM
LDP AND COMMUNIST DEFEAT. SOHYO MODERATES, ALTHOUGH
WEAKENED BY DEFEAT OF THEIR PRINCIPAL SPOKESMAN, JSP VICE
CHAIRMAN EDA, CONTINUE TO INSIST THAT JSP JOIN DSP AND
KOMEITO IN NON-COMMUNIST OPPOSITION FRONT. ON OTHER
HAND, JSP'S EXTREME LEFT-WING SOCIALISM ASSOCIATION
(KYOKAI-HA), WHICH INCREASED ITS LOWER HOUSE STRENGTH,
EXPECTED TO MOUNT EFFORT AT NEXT CONVENTION TO HALT
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JSP'S RECENT TENTATIVE MOVE IN DIRECTION OF MODERATION
AND TO RETURN PARTY TO IDEOLOGICALLY "PURE"
POSITIONS OF SIXTIES. FORMER SEC GEN IWAI, NOW ON
SIDELINES OF LABOR MOVEMENT, ATTEMPTING POLITICAL
COMEBACK AS SPOKESMAN FOR JSP RADICALS. WITH DEFEAT OF
ALL MAJOR JSP FACTION LEADERS (EDA, KATSUMATA, SASAKI),

SOHYO SECGEN TOMIZUKA, APPARENTLY REALIZING SOHYO IS ONLY FORCE ABLE TO PREVENT ANOTHER JSP SHIFT TO THE LEFT, ACTIVELY ATTEMPTING TO COUNTER MOVES OF KYOKAI-HA. WHILE SOHYO AND DOMEI EXPECTED TO COMPETE MORE VIGOROUSLY FOR MEDIA ATTENTION IN COMING MONTHS BY STEPPING UP THEIR RIVAL APPEALS FOR LABOR UNITY, NO SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS IN DIRECTION OF REORGANIZATION OF LABOR MOVEMENT LIKELY TO OCCUR UNTIL AFTER NEXT SUMMER'S UPPER HOUSE ELECTION. END SUMMARY.

1. DOMEI CLAIMS GREAT ELECTORAL VICTORY FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS (DSP) ON GROUNDS THAT: PARTY SCORED NET GAIN OF 10 SEATS (FOR TOTAL OF 29); HAS--AS IT DID BEFORE 1972--A LARGER LOWER HOUSE CONTINGENT THAN THAT OF COMMUNISTS; AND CAN ONCE AGAIN PARTICIPATE IN MANAGEMENT OF LOWER HOUSE. IN FACE OF PAST CRITICISM THAT IT UNABLE TO DELIVER VOTES OF ITS MEMBERS, DOMEI POINTING WITH PRIDE TO ELECTION OF 9 OUT OF 11 UNION OFFICIALS RUNNING ON DSP TICKET. (COMMENT: EMPLOYERS, BECAUSE THEY FEARED LDP LOSS, WERE AT LEAST EQUALLY AS EFFECTIVE AS DOMEI IN LINING UP SUPPORT OF PRIVATE-SECTOR WORKERS FOR CANDIDATES OF WHAT BUSINESS REGARDS AS ACCEPTABLE OPPOSITION PARTY.) DOMEI OFFICIALS ALSO BELIEVE DSP IMAGE VASTLY IMPROVED BY ELECTION FOR FIRST TIME OF SIZABLE CONTINGENT OF RELATIVELY YOUNG, NON-UNION POLITICAL PROFESSIONALS SUCH AS RO WATANABE, (DSP'S LONG TIME INTERNATIONAL BUREAU SECRETARY), SHOZO NISHIMURA AND KEIGO OUCHI (RESPECTIVELY, NEPHEW AND LONG TIME ADVISER OF FORMER DSP CHAIRMAN NISHIMURA), AND KANSEI NAKANO (LOCAL OSAKA COUNCILMAN).
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2. DOMEI CHAIRMAN AMAIKE ASSERTED THAT ELECTION RESULT SHOWED VOTERS FAVOR "CENTRIST POLITICS" BASED ON DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES. RIGHT AFTER ELECTION, AMAIKE DECLARED THAT SINCE DOMEI, IN CONTRAST TO SOHYO, WAS TOTALLY COMMITTED TO SUCH PRINCIPLES, IT MUST TAKE LEAD IN REORGANIZING LABOR MOVEMENT SO AS TO PERMIT EMERGENCE OF SINGLE NON-COMMUNIST OPPOSITION PARTY CAPABLE OF FORMING A "CENTRIST GOVERNMENT." OTHER MODERATE LABOR LEADERS SUCH AS IMF-JC CHAIRMAN MIYATA BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT DOMEI'S NEWLY FELT STRENGTH AND AMAIKE'S CONSEQUENT INSISTENCE ON LABOR UNITY ON HIS TERMS WILL ONLY ACTUALLY SLOW DOWN EFFORTS RESUMED JUST THIS FALL (TOKYO'S 16100) TO REGROUP MODERATE PRIVATE SECTOR UNIONS INTO VIABLE POLITICAL FORCE. AMAIKE'S STATEMENT THAT DOMEI INTENDS TO BECOME PRINCIPAL SPOKESMAN FOR ORGANIZED LABOR VIS-A-VIS GOJ HAS CAUSED MINISTRY OF LABOR OFFICIALS TO FEAR THAT DOMEI MIGHT NOW DEMAND DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WITH

PRIMIN, BYPASSING LABMIN IN WAGE SETTLEMENTS AND OTHER ECONOMIC ISSUES.

3. WHILE DOMEI LEADERS SAY DSP WILL NOT OPPOSE ALL LDP INITIATIVES JUST FOR SAKE OF OPPOSITION, THEY FIRMLY RULE OUT FOR FORESEEABLE FUTURE DSP ACCEPTANCE OF ANY POSSIBLE LDP BID TO JOIN COALITION GOVERNMENT OR ANY BLANKET COMMITMENT TO HELP ASSURE PASSAGE OF GOJ SPONSORED LEGISLATION IN LOWER HOUSE. DOMEI BELIEVES DSP GAINS RESULTED FROM SUPPORT PICKED UP FROM DISAFFECTED FORMER LDP VOTERS WHO WOULD FEEL BETRAYED IF DSP SUDDENLY ABANDONED ITS OPPOSITION STANCE. FURTHERMORE, ACCORDING TO ONE DOMEI OFFICIAL, FACT THAT DSP DIET POLICY CHAIRMAN TEIJI IKEDA, PRINCIPAL ARCHITECT OF TACIT COOPERATION WITH LDP ON SEVERAL ISSUES IN PREVIOUS LOWER HOUSE SESSIONS, WAS ONE OF ONLY TWO DSP INCUMBENTS TO LOSE SEAT, STRENGTHENS DSP RESOLVE TO AVOID IMPRESSION OF COOPERATING WITH LDP IN DIET.
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 18501

4. SOHYO OFFICIALS GENERALLY CONCEDE THAT IN SPITE OF SOCIALIST PARTY'S PICKING UP 5 NEW SEATS FOR TOTAL OF 123, IT IN EFFECT SUFFERED ELECTORAL SETBACK. NOT ONLY DID JSP FAIL TO REALIZE ITS LONG STATED GOAL OF BECOMING

PRINCIPAL BENEFICIARY OF ANY LDP AND COMMUNIST DEFEAT AT POLLS BUT ITS SHARE OF POPULAR VOTE ACTUALLY DECLINED BY 1.2 PERCENT. SOHYO DERIVES LITTLE CONSOLATION FROM STATISTICS SHOWING THAT 71 OUT OF 79 JSP CANDIDATES FROM SOHYO-AFFILIATED UNIONS WON ELECTION OR THAT APPROXIMATELY TWO-THIRDS OF JSP'S LOWER HOUSE CONTINGENT NOW COMPOSED OF SOHYO MEMBERS. RATHER, ACCORDING TO ONE SOHYO STAFF MEMBER, AVERAGE AGE OF JSP DIETMEN HIGHER THAN THAT OF ANY OTHER OPPOSITION PARTY AND JSP NOW HAS EVEN STRONGER PUBLIC IMAGE OF BEING A RETIREMENT HOME FOR FORMER UNION OFFICERS.

5. SOHYO MODERATES, PARTICULARLY POSTAL (ZENTEI) AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS (ZENDENTSU) UNION LEADERS, STUNNED BY UNEXPECTED DEFEAT OF BOTH JSP VICE CHAIRMAN SABURO EDA AND HIS CHIEF LIEUTENANT, FORMER SEC GEN KOICHI YAMAMOTO, PRINCIPAL PROPONENTS OF ANTI-COMMUNIST OPPOSITION COALITION. WITH JSP'S RIGHT WING LEADERLESS, ITS EFFORTS TO PUSH JSP IN DIRECTION OF DSP AND KOMEITO
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HAVE EVEN REMOTER CHANCE OF SUCCESS THAN BEFORE. EDA HIMSELF EXPECTED TO CONTINUE PROMOTING COALITION VIA SOCIETY TO THINK ABOUT A NEW JAPAN (TOKYO'S 9280) AND TO ATTEMPT COMEBACK IN NEXT ELECTION BUT SOCIETY LIKELY TO REMAIN MERELY A DISCUSSION GROUP FOR MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROAD INTELLECTUALS.

6. BECAUSE EXTREMISTS IN JSP WON AT EXPENSE OF MODERATES, SOHYO LEADERS MAKIEDA AND TOMIZUKA, WHO SINCE TAKING OFFICE IN JULY HAVE MOVED SOHYO TOWARDS MORE REALISTIC APPROACH TO LABOR AND OTHER ISSUES, NOW CONFRONTED WITH PROSPECT THAT THEY ARE ONLY FORCE CAPABLE OF BLOCKING JSP MOVE IN OPPOSITE DIRECTION. SUPPORTERS OF JSP'S MOST EXTREME LEFT-WING GROUPING, SOCIALISM ASSOCIATION (KYOKAI-HA) INCREASED THEIR LOWER-HOUSE REPRESENTATION, WHILE THEIR PRINCIPAL OPPONENTS HERETOFORE, VETERAN FACTION LEADERS KATSUMATA AND SASAKI AS WELL AS EDA, ALL LOST THEIR SEATS. KYOKAI-HA ADHERENTS, WHO ALREADY CONTROL SINGLE LARGEST BLOC OF DELEGATES AT JSP CONVENTIONS, EXPECTED TO RENEW THEIR EFFORTS TO IMPOSE THEIR BRAND OF IDEOLOGICALLY PURE AND UNCOMPROMISING MARXISM, WHICH LOOKS TO MOSCOW FOR INSPIRATION, ON PARTY AT NEXT CONVENTION IN FEBRUARY. EMERGING AS KYOKAI-HA'S PRINCIPAL SPOKESMAN IS WILY STRATEGIST AKIRA IWAI, FORMER SOHYO SEC GEN, WHO HAS BEEN ON SIDELINES OF LABOR MOVEMENT FOR LAST FEW YEARS AND NOW HOPES TO MAKE COMEBACK. JSP SEC GEN TOMIZUKA, LONG-TIME FOE OF IWAI, IS APPARENTLY ALREADY RESPONDING TO THE THREAT. HE HAS ESTABLISHED SPECIAL COMMITTEE WITHIN SOHYO TO TIGHTEN LINKS WITH

(AND INFLUENCE ON) JSP AND HAS CALLED FOR EXPANDED DRIVE TO INCREASE JSP MEMBERSHIP AMONG RANK AND FILE IN SOHYO AFFILIATES. IN ADDITION, TOMIZUKA HAS ALSO CALLED ON JSP TO SUSPEND TEMPORARILY DEBATE ON LONG-PENDING QUESTION OF WHETHER TO FORM COALITION WITH COMMUNISTS ON LEFT OR WITH DSP ON RIGHT AND TO CONTENT ITSELF FOR TIME BEING WITH FORMING ALLIANCE WITH KOMEITO (WHICH CONFIDENTIAL

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HAS NO PRETENTIONS TO LEADERSHIP OF LABOR MOVEMENT). TOMIZUKA'S APPEAL IS APPARENTLY AIMED AT MAINTAINING UNITY OF JSP'S TRADITIONAL LEFT AND RIGHT-WING FACTIONS IN FACE OF THREAT FROM KYOKAI-HA WHICH, IN RECENT PAST, HAS SUCCESSFULLY EXPLOITED COALITION ISSUE TO WIN SUPPORT AT JSP CONVENTIONS FROM TRADITIONAL LEFT. IN TURN, KYOKAI-HA ADHERENTS MAY WELL COUNTERATTACK, THEREBY MAKING IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR SOHYO LEADERSHIP TO TAKE INITIATIVES IN FUTURE SIMILAR TO CHAIRMAN MAKIEDA'S REQUEST FOR TALKS WITH AFL-CIO LAST SUMMER.

7. IN SUM, NO REAL POSSIBILITY EXISTS IN NEAR FUTURE, AT LEAST NOT UNTIL AFTER UPPER HOUSE ELECTION, FOR ANY SIGNIFICANT FORWARD DEVELOPMENT IN RECENTLY RESUMED EFFORTS TO UNIFY MODERATE LABOR UNIONS, EVEN IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR. SOHYO SEC GEN TOMIZUKA MUST PROTECT HIS LEFT-WING FLANK. DOMEI PRES AMAIKE HAS NEVER BEEN PARTICULARLY SYMPATHETIC TO UNITY EFFORTS ON OTHER THAN DOMEI TERMS (SUPPORT FOR THE DSP) AND HIS HAND HAS OF COURSE BEEN STRENGTHENED BY REVIVAL OF DSP FORTUNES AT POLLS. HOWEVER, SINCE NEITHER DOMEI NOR SOHYO WISH TO CAST PUBLIC IMAGE OF TAKING NEGATIVE STAND ON POPULAR SUBJECT, FOR NEXT SEVERAL MONTHS WE ALMOST CERTAINLY WILL SEE PUBLICITY CONTEST IN MEDIA BETWEEN DOMEI AND SOHYO LEADERS, EACH MAKING APPEALS FOR LABOR UNITY ON TERMS IT KNOWS FULL WELL ARE ABSOLUTELY UNACCEPTABLE TO THE OTHER SIDE.
HODGSON

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